582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible; far beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

219. Bove (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

/784 cont./

612 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he
571 happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more
612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi-
571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo-
554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

• 601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):608 refers to this as follows:

/788 cont./

.601

"They are very exact in preserving the remembrance of the precise relationship born by members of a family each to other" /cited in English/.

From the start we are surprised not only by the large number, but also by the logical formation of the kinship terms (222).

222. The long lists gathered by a few earlier observers are still incomplete; above all Hyades (p):333 and (q):297, Lothrop (b):161, and Spencer: 61, 65 are referred to here.

Referring to Bridges, Hyades (q):261 says: "There are specific terms for all the degrees of kinship" /translated from French/, in fact, considerably more than most Europeans are able to apply (223).

223. Bridges frankly admits this in Hyades (q):261, and no one will contradict him when he says that our natives "in this respect have more distinctions and more terms than we ourselves" /translated from French/.

[illegible] Today, however, some of them are no longer current among the younger Indians because their tribal life has been disintegrating for a long time. Formerly there was more opportunity to use such terms (224).

224. We are confronted here with a universal phenomenon in the world of primitives. "This alone [the confined situations] explains the complicated kinship terms of some tribes and the accurate mastery of these by the native who can accurately fit every single member into this system. Anyone who from childhood has been taught to place the greatest importance on these things finds it easy with the years to learn to distinguish them clearly with a limited

/785 cont./

601

number of people." From Vierkandt, Das genossenschaftliche Gemeinwesen der Naturvölker /The Cooperative Communal Life of Primitive Peoples/, Stuttgart, 1922.

601
127

The following list of Yamana kinship terms comes from the pen of the university lecturer Dr. Ferdinand Hestermann who at my request furnished it specially for this book. He writes:

Just as the language of the Yamana is extremely rich in forms, so also are there many designations for kinship. Reverend Bridges seems also to have felt this very strongly, for in his works we find several summaries of these designations.

The following list is first of all an excerpt from the Yamana-English Dictionary of Reverend Thomas Bridges (225). This

225. In the present book we refer to this work as BD.

furnishes the basis. As a supplement and a check, however, we have also used other accounts by Reverend Bridges, such as the one in his grammar published in London, as well as the manuscript of the above-mentioned dictionary, which was never published. From this manuscript edition, however, we obtained only clues since we had only the galleys which were not proof read and the handwritten copy was not available. Furthermore, the Gospel according to St. Luke was also used, namely, in the form of a vocabulary made from it by Platzmann (226). The grammar /786/ of

226. This refers to Platzmann (a). See the list of sources at the end of this book.

Lucien Adam has been used only sparingly, since it does not contain anything original; the same is true of the reports by Boggiani and Bove. We have, however, made abundant use of the lists of vocalizations made by the Mission Scientifique. In spite of all this, the summary is not entirely clear on all points; the matter is much too complicated for this.

I should like to permit myself two brief remarks. I go further than others in giving the scope of the designations, since this is

/786 cont./

601 clearly demanded by the language. I am also adding several verbs
127 which can only increase the clarity of this list of kinship terms for linguists as well as ethnologists, and above all for sociologists. Anyone who wishes to engage in more profound work is referred to the Dictionary.

601 Male relatives are given on the left, female on the right of the page. Occasionally we give the possessive and forms of address. Here and there we also give number, such as plural or dual, as well as the singular. Whatever appears in parentheses ( ) can be omitted or retained. The first numbers, which are not in parentheses and are followed by a period, indicate the person. The following number in parentheses indicates chapter and verse from the translation of the Gospel according to Luke.

601 The Indians call themselves yámana.
192

yamana-ŭwa, man — yamana-á-kĭpa, woman

yamali(m), people in the plural — yamanaiamalim, human beings

ŭ-aiamalim, men (11, 44; 9, 14) — kĭp-aiamalim, women (23, 49. 55; 24, 22)

[609] Strangers are clearly separated: agŏpatŭa, aua, mĕamŭa, the first being meant as European, the last as native strangers.

ŭa, human being, man, also uŏn (22, 2. 4. 14. 19); ŭa in Luke (1, 31) used as "son" since here it can be the equivalent of the word "human being."

ŭa, uŏn, human being, man — kĭpa, woman, wife, also kĭpăki pa, the same in the eastern part of Beagle Channel

For the latter word kĭpa-dĕra, "all women, every woman," is striking. See "child" in this connection.

"Master" is gĕligŭa (12, 43), "sovereign, aristocracy," tauĭnala (21, 12), in the singular tauĭna, "lord, master" (9, 54; 12, 13) or tauĭnŭa, "the highest" (18, 18), whereas ŏkŏrĭ mŭkĭgŭa means "head of the house" (12, 39; 14, 26).

uătala, "the elders, old ones," appears in Luke (7, 3).

ma-gĕlig-ŭa is used for "manservant" or "maidservant" (1, 38; 12, 36).

uŏnŏxyĭgŭŏn, male servants (7, 2); uŏtăgŭkĭpeiamalim, female servants (12, 43. 45).

/786 cont./

60| [572] There are several words to express the relationship of friends, which occasionally can also be used in the sense of being related.

tŏgakŭlŭ, friend (14, 10-12; 11, 6)

kurŭgala, friends (15, 6)

dĭŏnaka, female friend (cognates 1, 36)

kurŭŭkindeian, female friends (15, 9)

ĭŭgŭgakĭpeiamalim, bad women (prostitutes 15, 30).

/787/ The word "related" or "relative" cannot be translated as such (see "female friend"), since it is usually more specific. mŏkŏrĭ, "connected together like relatives," in the dual mŏkŏrĭpai, in the plural mŏkŏrĭyamalim. magĭta, "blood relatives," dual magĭtĭpai. sŏnnakita, "without male relatives, without friends who could offer help in combat, without brothers, without uncle, without cousins." -- For the rest we must come back to this in the individual items.

ŭŭ (an), ŭŭa, grandfather	gŭŭana, grandmother
hau ŭŭan, hau ŭŭ(ŏ)n, 1. do.	haua gŭŭanan, 1. do.
ĭin ŭŭŏn, 2. do.	uin gŭŭanan, 2. do.
kĭt ŭŭun, 3. do.	ŭina gŭŭanan, 2. do.
kĭt ŭŭuna, 3. do.	kĭin gŭŭanan, 3. do.
kĭt ŭŭŏn, 3. do.	kŏojimin gŭŭanan, 3. do.

If the reader is struck by the fact that two different roots are used for the compound expression, this will be immediately explained in what follows; "great uncle" is called gŭiaiakŏn, whereas a word for "great aunt" is nowhere to be found.

60| 103 Regions are also linked with kinship terms, for example, hĭ-kaiamakŭtaua, "the land of my grandmothers,." more accurately with ĭni which means "land"; thus, kĭ-kaiamăkŭtaa-ĭni, and

kĭ-kaiamŭkŭa-ĭa, male, kĭ-kaiamŭkua-a-kĭpa, female relative from there. In the opposite direction, the expression can also refer to the grandchildren: "the land of someone's grandchild." hĭ-kaiamŭkua-ĭpai means that two persons have connections with the grandmother's or the grandchildren's country.

hannaiamalim, my countrymen	hanna-kĭpaiamalim, do., f., sing.
hannala, do. m.	hanna-kĭpa, do. f.

/787 cont./

601 Contemptuously one speaks of hamilwa, "my countryman." We shall occasionally mention such analogies.

Just as a term may be restricted with reference to a locality, so also may one be restricted with reference to sex: wimi-ihlan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. The expression is familiar, however, and this must be taken into consideration each time.

There are two expressions for "parents": dŭmakalamalim and dŭtŭtŭŭ. The designation for a pair also applies to a single spouse, like tuku, tŭkŭŭn, tŭkun (8, 2; 18, 19), or Ikin'ka, "my husband, my wife." ki-tiku-a, "his wife, her husband." kŭtŭ-pai tuku kinjin, "this is the wife of that man, this is the husband of that woman." There are also designations exclusively for one, but only with reference to the woman. Thus: pana-tuku-ihi, if simply a wife is meant, whereas the next wife or the second wife is called nŭtŭŭ(ihi), called this because her place is at the upper or inner side in the wigwam of her husband. dirŭ-kŭp-a means simply "old woman." Bride and bridegroom are tuku, like "husband, wife" above. On the other hand, matuku is used only for "husband, wife."

601 192 /788/ The latter word means only "to marry," or more exactly, to go or come north and marry or be married or in order to marry. "A married pair" or "to marry one another" is matŭkipai. "One man and his wives, two men and their wives" is matŭkwiamalim. There are a great many expressions in this category, for example, nimŭŭnalyŭŭ, to detain or take in someone's wife or husband. pŭrŭŭnŭŭ, to marry a woman whom one has no right to her. yŭŭŭ, to send or to give in marriage, namely, a man his daughter (but not his son). yŭŭmŭnŭŭ, to come to go and sit down in the wigwam, as a father his daughter with regard to her future husband. wihyŭkin, the first wife whose place is at the door-side of her husband. Yamalŭwŭna (tŭpŭna, ŭŭpŭna) means to treat female relatives with such familiarity as is proper only toward those with whom a marriage is to be contracted, or to marry relatives, such as female cousins, aunts, etc., to permit oneself unusual liberties with someone's relatives or family, to desecrate something sacred, or to be crude. ihus-yŭmata, to give someone in marriage to

/788 cont./

place of someone else. tuxlêna, to marry on the boat. tuxlêŝa, to be married to or to marry more than two women. tunnana, to love, to treat with love and kindness, such as a man his wife (said only about women). tuxyelîki, a woman who was abandoned or went away by a former husband. twîsmalîwana, twîsmalîwanglîgî, to give a man as his wife a woman who is related to him. [illegible] to be promised to a man in marriage (1, 27). [illegible] of the wedding in the house of his wife (12, 36). [illegible] they courted (17, 27). [illegible] women given in marriage (17, 27). [illegible] one who has lived with her husband (2, 36). makuŝa, the beloved woman, the chosen one (9, 35; 23, 25). mamaso-lin'ĝîa, a woman above all others favored by her husband.

Concerning the word for "father," it is noteworthy that Bridges uses only a single one with the possessive 3; he expressly points to the fact that only the possessives given for a word by him can be used. And as a matter of fact, the connection mentioned is given in all his entries.

ami, amî, îmîn, father (11, 2. 12; 12, 39)
îmandeian, fathers (21, 16)
amîgîan, fathers (23, 36)

hes îmun, 1. do.
sin îmun, 2. do.
sîn[illegible] îmun, 3. do.
hî' imun, 3. do. (15, 28)
hî' îmun, 3. do.
hîmanâsi, do., old man, elderly man
hîmas (fem.) hîmasîm, do.

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dîlîhîn, elder, old man, do.

dîmîhîn, dîlîhîkîn, do. (12, 53; 18, 22)

dîbin, mother (1, 43; 4, 36)
îdîgîmas, mother of sons only
dîbindeian, mothers (21, 16)
hî-dîb(a)n, 1. mother (8, 21)
hî-dîbin, 1. do.
dîbeia, 2. do. (8, 20)
sîn(a) dîbin, 2. do.
hîn îmun dîbin, 3. do.
hî dîbin 3. do. (8, 19)

hîmas-îîp-îki, mother, old woman
hîmas-kîpa, do.

dîmîpa, elder, old woman, do. (1, 18; 12, 53; 2, 36)
dîmîpa, dîrâpa, an elder, large and strong woman, mother

/789 cont./

601

dĭbua, your father (15, 27)
dăbŭa(n), 2. do.
hĭ dĭbua(n), 1. do.
hĭ dăbŭan, 1. do. (15, 12)
(u)ŏŭma(n), older man
tănŭwa, my father, my old husband (fam.)
taninua, 2. do.
(haua) tŭmagaiwa, 1. do., do. (fam. and friendly on the part of younger people)
yauaua, my father (local in the east)

dara-winni, dăra-inni, do., do.
tănŭwa-kĭpa, my mother, my old wife (fam.)
pasanĭpa, mother
haua pasanĭpa, 1. do.

601 192 A few further supplementary items. dapŏŭ, dăpŏŭ (11, 27; 23, 29) tömmuŭa (in the south), "mother's breast"; dapŏla "to suck"; gaiaŭi, "to grow to maturity" (said of a mother's breast). gönnux, "a mother who bears only female offspring." mĕamasa, maiamasa, "pregnant." yembŏna, "to have a small child." yembönĭkipa, "mother of a small child." yellămăgŭ, "to be confined before another woman." tŭmŭtulŏŭă, "to have children or descendants." tŭsilana, "embryo, to be with child in the first few months." galatĭa, "embryo," amagŏna, "belly, embryo, egg, pregnant," mĭgŭĭ, "to adopt as a son, to bring forth a child, to have a boy." mŭătsikŏri, "to come forth, to come into the world." tŭčikĭpinana, "to have a child or other dependents whose life is endangered by others." tŭmăgönnaka, "not to have brought forth offspring, childless, sterile." jăkul, "sterile, not having offspring." măgönnaka, "not to have (borne) a child." măttŭmăgŭpai, "to have two children." wĕna, "fruit of the womb," kičin uĕnan, 3. do.; hau galatĭa, 1. do. wĕnanaa, "you will conceive (in the womb)" (1, 31), köuknanudĕ, "she became pregnant" (1, 24). mĭgasin, "having borne" (after pregnancy; 11, 27). sa tŭmăgŭaŭa "you will bear a son (man) (1, 31). ŏmuĭyăgŭ, "embryo," ŏmuĭyăgŭ-dăbŭ, hasauana kĭpa, "a pregnant woman." jŏkĭluf, "afterbirth, navel cord." gupŭ, "navel," gŭpul, "navel cord."

Pertaining to the man: lag-gala, alox-gala, böllŏx, "testicles," böllŏxkai-ĭttadrĭtĭ, "kidneys." This is associated with böllŏ-gaima,

/789 cont./

• 601 192 a favorite game in which this word is repeated. hallŭ̈ˀi, "penis." matūmăgūnaküwa, "a man who has no children, childless man." matūmăgū, "to have or conceive a child (said only of the man), to be born in a designated place or at a designated time." matūlŏ̈a, "to have (conceived) more than two children." ha-matūmăgūpikin-dē kaiŭala ămŏlategan-apai, "I conceived twins." yembŏnŭwa, "a man who has a small child." tūkategа (said of a man), "to take a woman into his canoe as his wife." ana, /790/ sisman(ī)a, "to have sexual intercourse." kŏ̈ŭatella, "to cease conceiving or to cease bringing forth offspring."

ūˀgūge, "adulterous, lascivious, lewd." ŭn, "adulterous, tending toward importunity or violence," kīpata, "to commit adultery, to rape a woman, adulterous, rake." kīpŭtaki, "the adulterer." kīpatĭkin'a "Oh, you adulterous human being!" kīpŏ̈ŭŏmiti, "adulterous, incestuous, fornicator." gūrˀgaia, "to pester a man shamelessly and provocatively by trying to flirt with his wife against her will."

haua matūmăgū mŭala, "my birthday."

ŭpŭn-ŭa, widower, bachelor
ŭiŭtakĭki, do.
ŭiŭtaka, "deprived of husband or of wife, absent (living alone) from husband or wife"; magaiŭpumanŭkīpa, "a woman whose husband has been murdered." gŭrŭt ŭpŭna, "to die in childbed."

ŭpŭn kīpa, widow
ŭiŭtakĭkika, do. (2, 37; 21, 2)

makŭ, mākun, mĭkŭn, son
mĭkŭ, do. (9, 58; 12, 8)
kŏmbei mākŭ, two do. (15, 11)

mākī-kīpa, mā-kīpa, daughter
mā-kīpa-a, do. (2, 36.8, 49)
makīpeiamalim, daughter (23, 28)

haua mĭkun, 1. do. (15, 31; 9, 36)
haua mākīpan, 1. do.

sa mĭkun, 2. do. (15, 30)
kī mĭkun, 3. do. (20, 44)
nŏlŭua, nalewa, do. (1, 13.57)

kī mĭgŭ̄ipan, 3. do.
imni, imia, do.
uimia, my daughter! (8, 48)
haua uei-kipa-a, 1. daughter
ŭmŭgū imi, daughter (illeg.)
kīpa kaiŭala, child (f.)

ŭmŭgū kai-uala, son (illeg.)
kaiŭala, child (especially male)
kai-yŭala, do. (2, 40.49)
kaigŭala, do.

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/790 cont./

yŭtŭmatŭa, small baby (m.)

yŭtŭ-kĭpa, young woman, wife, daughter

yŭtumŭa, do., youth (12, 53; 7, 14; 15, 21)

yŭtumŭŭki, the son

jakaulya, ŭjakaulya, baby (m.)

ŭjakaulyŭkĭpa, baby (f.)

ŭutukomasa, child (m.), do.

ŭutukomasakĭpa, child (f.)

Now just a few more additions to this already large selection, which, as in all cases, will be merely a sampling.

mŏtakaiyin, "descendant, offspring." pikin-ini, "infant." kotŭlalaiamalim, "children" (6, 35; 11, 7; 20, 34). ŭnŭkŭin, "youngest" (m., f., 15, 12). kŭpalpaki(n), kaguŭpa, kaguapaki, kŭčiyella, "the last-born," aiotmaiamamăgŭa, kiwiamunyaiamomagyŭwa, "first-born," keiyaiomasa mŭgudd wŭlŭwa, "the have her first-born" (2, 7). ŭŭla (usually tela), "young," ŭŭ-ŭki, "little innocent child," ŭŭlaŭka, "the world of childhood." amapŭta, "a child that cannot yet speak." yahŭkin, "small child" (2, 12, 16). yakaŭlŭwa, "a small boy." yakaulyamŭa, "a little (huge) fellow." mŭalŭwa, "boys together, /791/ no girls among them." mŭkonakaana, "little one /male/" (7, 28). uŭlŭga, "a youth, male, male sex" (human beings and animals).

yŭaiamasa, "to be the oldest or first-born of the family."

yŭaiomkŭlŭwa, first-born

yŭaiamaŭkĭpa, oldest daughter

yŭčkaiŭki, oldest, first-born

yŭčkaiŭkĭpa, first-born (sing., f.)

yatuwaiim oldest, first-born son or brother

yŭŭwaikĭpa, do., sister

Iamaga'in hamaa, "what a brother!" yatuwaiimpai, "the two oldest brothers." yaana, "a man who is not yet a yehamun, a non-initiate." ulmŭn, "a boy who has not yet been subjected to the kina discipline, who has not yet been initiated in the kina rites." yŭmamăgŭa, "first-born." yarumpaia, "young people." ŭkŭpalŭwa, "an old heavy boy, an old fellow, a heavy youth, a man and no longer a youth." ŭkŭpaia, ŭkŭlŭwa, "old people, an old man." ŭkŭlŭŭki, "the old man." mallŭpamŭpai, "two persons together, both of whom are unmarried," mŭčŭlmata, "to grow to full manhood."

kapamŭkĭpa, "girl (1, 27; 8, 54), maiden, young woman." umbaiŭpax, "a girl, a baby (f.), a young daughter." yaka-kapamŭkĭpa, "a little girl." ŭlwaikĭpa, "the oldest or first-born

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•61 192 daughter, the one before all others." ckpe, "blood" (11, 50, 51, 22, 44). ckpe, do., ckpeqpe, "to menstruate," nari, "the first menstruation," wkiie, "menses." kimikekpe, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (lam.).

ewakkkendeutemke kimkpe, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." ewakkkan kai ewaf, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamkpwlemalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matkkwlemalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. emmf mamkkun kimdeian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamkkun-pai, "two who are brothers," mamkkun-pemalim, "brothers, companions." mamkpkpai, "a father and his son, a mother and her son." kaniyama' kai-edeiuni ke, "a man from my region."

mpaimpai, mpaimyemalim, "two and more who are brothers." mpaikipkpai, mpaikipeimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

emkkii, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead." emkpe, "orphan," kikkkki, kikkkpi, "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wkkkkpe, orphan boy	wkwakkpeqpe, orphan girl
pkkkie, an orphaned child	pkkkiekkpe, a double orphan
pkkkwf sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)	pkkkekkpen, daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tcowkkkwke, a man in mourning for child, parent, brother, or sister	tcowkkkwkkpe, a woman in mourning for child, parent, brother, or sister

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ckpkkkkpe, father or brother of someone murdered	ckpkeqpe, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /or, daughter/, her brother or sister

ckpken, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and sisters, of someone murdered." ckpkeun, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister." [193] enkkkkkpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans." kikapkkkf kikkkke, "a boy whose father or mother drowned." [193] kkkkkwe, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

[91 cont.]

[51]

, a name given a boy in place of the name he was given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called . If the person is a woman, . , "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." , "my deceased relative." , "the dead" (20, 27). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

, "women who are not related." , "my country-women." , "a woman from your grandmother's region." , all the female relatives of someone, such as sisters, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fem.). , three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. , "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." , "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." , , "mother and daughter, father and daughter." , "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." , "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." , "to die and leave a child as orphan" (said only of a mother). , "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." , "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. , a family of children surviving the death, by exemple, of a mother. , "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. , "female descendants," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

, explosive	, responsive
, do.	, do.
, do.	, do.
, S. do.	, S. do.
, expert	, explosive
, do.	, do.
, S. do.	, S. do.
, do.	

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, "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters by marrying their father or mother."

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nĭmĭgŭ (kaiĭŝala), nĭnĭgun, "to adopt or become a father to children by taking their mother as a wife, or to become a mother by marrying their father."

mĭkusin, brother (15, 27; 6, 41; 20, 28)	mĭkus-kĭpa, sister (10, 39)
haua makus, 1. do.	
haua mŏkus, 1. do.	haua makuskĭpan, 1. do.
ki mĭkusin, 3. do.	ki makuskipyalanĭ, 3. pl. acc. (14, 26)
makuyamalim, brothers (16, 28)	makuskĭpyala, sisters (14, 26)
makuyala, do. (8, 19. 20, 23)	
haua makuyala, my brothers (8, 2)	
sin makuyalun, 2. do. (8, 20)	
kĭ makuyalan, 3. (do. (8, 18)	
mamakuyalim, brothers (20, 29)	
magaiamalim, brothers to one another	magaiambaa-kĭpaiamalim, sisters to one another
sin ŏlĭŏlŏnĭ, "of your brother" (6, 42)	
kĭ-t-ŏlĭuŏn, his brother /acc./ (6, 14)	
waimua, eldest son, brother, cousin	wai-kĭpa (2), older sister, first cousin
haua waim, 1. do.	
waiamun, do., do.	haua wai-kĭpan, 1. do., do.
ciamun, do., do	sin uai-kipan, 2. do., do.
k-ĭlaiamun, 3. do., do.	kin uai-kipa, 2. do., do.
k-aiĭaiamun, 3. do., do.	kai-ĭlai-kĭpan, 3. do., do.
k-aiĭaiamŏlan, 3. do., do.	kai-ĭlaikipyalan, 3. do., do.
k-aiuamundaian, 3. do., do.	kai-ĭlaikipandaian, 3. do., do.
kŭk-aaim siĭan, the eldest brother	wimni, my daughter, my older sister, my wife, my niece, my cousin, first, second, and third degree
maaempai, two older brothers together	maaekipapai, two women, older sisters of a family together

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ɛ̈alan, my older brother (fam.)

ɛ̈ale, my oldest son

ɛ̈alandalan, my oldest brother (respectful friendly expression of younger ones toward strangers)

ɛ̈ŏowa, ɛ̈ŏowa, younger brother

ɛ̈ŏowŏ(r)in, ɛ̈ŏkŏŏki, do.

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ɛ̈ŏuhkrin, 2. dative, do.

ɛ̈ŏkipa, younger sister

ɛ̈ŏkipŏrin, your do.

ɛ̈ŏkipŏki, the younger of two or more sisters

ɛ̈ŏowŏki, the younger, youngest brother

hau ɛ̈ŏowan, 1. do., do.

hau ɛ̈ŏkipan, 1. do.

hau ɛ̈ŏkipra, 1. do.

ti-t-ɛ̈ŏowan, 2. do., do.

sin ɛ̈ŏkipan, 2. do.

ti-t-ɛ̈ŏowŏin, 2. do., do., dative

kit ɛ̈ŏkipan, 2. do.

mŏkun, do., male cousin, female cousin (through an uncle who is younger than one's father or mother

mŏkunkipa, do.

makŏkin, younger brother

haus mŏkun, 1. do.

haus makun, 1. do.

haus mŏkunkipa, 1. do.

haus makunkipan, 1. do.

aus makusin, 1. do.

sin makusin, 2. do.

sin makunkipan, 2. do.

ŏin makŏkin, 2. do.

ŏin makŏkinkipan, 2. do.

ki mŏkusin, 2. do.

ki mŏkunkipan, 2. do.

ki makusin, 2. do.

ki makunkipan, 2. do.

kit'in makŏkin, 2. do.

kit'in makŏkinkipan, 2. do.

haus mŏkuspai, 1. do., dual

mŏkurwini, do.

haus mŏkurwini, 1. do.

haus mŏkuryamalin, 1. do.,pl.

(hou) ɛ̈mbaakipa, (1). next do.

ɛ̈mbaa, do.

kuŏana, my younger brother, my male cousin, my child, my nephew (fam.) (from kuŏ, "one")

kuŏana-kipa, my younger sister my female cousin (first degree), my daughter, my niece (fam.)

(61) /TSN cont./

mikiiwa, grandson	mikiiwá-ilpan, granddaughter
mikiiwan, do.	mikiiwá-ilpan, do.
	hwa mikiiwá(y)-ilpan, 1. do.
hí mikiiwan, 2. do.	hí mikiiwa-ilpan, 2. do.
mdiiwa, father's brother	dimilpa, father's sister
hwa mdiiwan, 1. do.	dimilpí, do.
dimilwjan, do.	dimilpila, (2.) do.
hwa mdiiwí an, 1. do.	hí dimilpan, 1. do.
hwa diiwan, 1. do.	hí dimupilin, 1. do.
hwa mdiwyan, 1. do.	hwa dimilpan, 1. do.
ñin diiwin, 2. do.	
wa diiwjwjan, 2. do.	
wa diiwan, 2. do.	
wuu mdiiwan, 2. do.	
hiñin diiwan 3. do.	hí dimilpan, 3. do.
hiñin diiwan, 3. do.	hí dimilpilin, 3. do.
hiñin diiwin, 3. do.	
immanan, (2.) mother's brother	yeka-dilwia, mother's sister
/TSN/	
	yeka-dilwia, 2. do.
	yeka-dalá, do.
hwa' immanan, 1. do.	yeka-dalálla, do.
	hwa yeka-dalán, 1. do.
ñin immanan, 1. do.	hwaa yeka-dilwin, 1. do.
wa immanan, 1. do.	hí eka-dilwin, 1. do.
hiñ imanan, 3. do.	hí eka-dilwin, 3. do.
hiñ imin imanan, 3. do.	
dilwilla (better dayda, "mother's breast"), do.(fam.)	
wdiwá, nephew, sister's son	hilgwaá, niece
wdiwí, sister's son	
hwaa peteran, 1. do.	hí hilgwateran, 1. do.
h- wdiwán, 1. do.	hí hilgwteran, 1. do.
hi- diiwaran, 1. do.	hí hilgwtera, 1. do.
wa wdiwí, 2. do.	wa hilgwteran, 2. do.
wa wdiwan, 2. do.	wa hilgwateran, 2. do.
wa wdiwá, 2. do.	

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ki- [illegible], 3. do.	ki kipanun, 3. do.
ki- [illegible], 3. do.	ki kipatarun, 3. do.
ki- [illegible], 3. do.	
ki- pátuk, 3. do.	
amapin, do. (fem.)	amapinihipa, do. (fem.)
ilmihmuka, great-nephew	ilmihipa, great-niece
ilkunuka, male cousin	ilkunihipa, female cousin
ilarumuka, do.	ilarumuhipa, do.
ilihmuka, do.	ilihmuhipun, do.
hous ilihmuka, 1. do.	ilihmuhipan, do.
su ilihmukan, 2. do.	
kin ilihmukan, 2. do.	
ki ilihmukan, 3. do.	
ki ilihmuka, 3. do.	

ilihmuka is put down as a "special expression," and indeed it is used for other relations, as above under "woman friend" and "parent."

yamamunkú, nephew, brother's son	yamamunihipa, niece, brother's daughter
hous yamamunkun, do., do.	hou (yamamunihipan, 1. brother's daughter
su yamamunkun, 2. do., do.	hous yamamunihipan, 1. do.
su yamamunkun, 2. do.	
ki yamamunkun, 3. do.	ki yamamunihipan, 3. do.
ki yamamunkun, 3. do.	ki yamamunihipan, 3. do.
ki yamamukun, 3. do.	
mamigun, father-in-law	mamihipan, mother-in-law

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mamigin, do.	mamihipa, do.
mamigi, do.	mamihipan, do. (12,13)
hous mamigun, 1. do.	mamihipa, do.
	hous mamihipan, 1. do.
su mamigun, 2. do.	su mamihipan, 2. do.
ki mamigun, 3. do.	ki mamihipan, 3. do.
umumiwa, do. (not common)	umumihipa, do. (not common)
hous umumiwa, 1. do.	
mihihipata, do. (fem.)	mihihipatihipa, do. (fem.)
ilmihpatirihin, do.	ilmihpatirihipan (-pan?), do.
	ilkunuk ilhin, do. (4, 38)

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If the last word reminds one strongly of a European translation, perhaps because of its occurrence in the Bible, the penultimate pair of words is linked with tēmūgū, "to give birth." It would, of course, also be easy to proceed etymologically in other instances and explain words with respect to their origin and construction, but we must leave the rest to linguists for special research.

tēmūgūkaiyūlala, son-in-law

alum, brother-in-law
ālum, do.
hous alamun, 1. do.
hou ālāmūn, 1. do.
ein alamun, 2. do.
ein ālamun, 2. do.
ein ālāmun, 2. do.
ai-t-alamun, 3. do.
ki-t-alamūn, 3. do.
ki-t-ālamun, 3. do.
ki-t-alamaam, 3. do.
tēgūhuru, do.

tēmūgū-inni, daughter-in-law
mōūgū-inni, do.
mouūgū-inni, do.
mōlagu-inni, do.

kipalum, sister-in-law
haus kipalumun, 1. do.
haus kipalamun, 1. do.
hi kipālamun, 1. do.
sins kipalamun, 2. do. (female cousins-in-law are also included)
hi kipalamun, 3. do.

The last word again stands by itself, that is to say, without a corresponding feminine form, and this is also true of mōam matūkū, "husband or sister of the wife" or "husband of the husband's sister." The same is true of alamasa, "relatives-in-law," if the man or woman representing the connection is deceased. Thus:

hou' alamasa, my father-in-law or my brother-in-law in the above

alamasa-kipa, a female relative-in-law under the same circumstances.

tēmūmaūgū, "to be or become son-in-law or father-in-law of someone through marriage." tēmūtēmūgū, "to acquire a son-in-law or daughter-in-law or to become one." mamaūkipapai, /197/ "two who are mother-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to each other."

mamaūgūpai, "two who are father-in-law and son-in-law or daughter-in-law to one another." tēmūtūgū, "to cause someone

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601 to become related to any person as son-in-law or father-in-law through marriage." mötšakinaka, "to receive or bring from the west any gift, or to come and do any kind of service for a father-in-law for his daughter." kišē, a term of respect used by persons related through marriage to direct questions or requests to one another, for example, son-in-law and daughter-in-law to each other or fathers and mothers to their sons-in-law and daughters-in-law and vice versa. It has no other special meaning. kiũɛ̃, kiũɛ̃la, verbal prefix used between persons related through marriage to about the same extent as kise above and in the same situation (227). This concludes the present summary.

227. In BD Yamana words lack an accent mark for stress. Hence it was not added to the above-mentioned words. See Gusinde (hh):181.

b. Tribal Society

619 Fuegian tribal society does not represent a closely knit, internally linked social structure. Actually it is only a loose juxtaposition of individual families. Each of the latter, however, is definite and well articulated.

All fellow tribesmen who can make themselves intelligible to one another by means of a common language are, for this reason, aware of being united to a certain extent and conscious of their homogeneity. All together they constitute a single people and are differentiated from other peoples in many external respects, as well as through spiritual assets and their own propensities. Not only do the individuals describe themselves in terms of these positive realities, but far beyond that, they value and praise what they regard as their uniqueness. Indeed, with justifiable national pride, they regard themselves as superior to neighboring peoples and to other human societies. They make no effort to determine or even to question whether they are not perhaps surpassed in many respects by other peoples. Their strongly developed self-awareness and self-satisfaction reject from the start all such comparisons.

/1046 cont./

776 is also applied to the ancestors of antiquity, the first arrivals, the places which they settled in those times and which today are already fossilized. In this case its meaning is, of course, limited, for there is only one, namely, the Supreme Being, who is properly and truly the very ancient one. BD:632 also gives the word wătauĭnaiwa, "the ancient one who changes not. A suitable term for God indicative of his eternity and unchangeableness" /cited in English/. Bridges here gives the basic meaning. The accompanying explanation confirms the occasional use to which this word is put in referring to ancestors: "This term was used specially of [82] the Rainbow which coming ever and anon was regarded as ever living and the author of death [?]. Used also of Heroes of old time" /cited in English/. In connection with this the Yamana form the word Watauinĕ́wa-sĕ́f, "the very ancient one in heaven." BD:379 gives sĕ́if instead of sĕ́f, "the (blue) sky" /cited in English/; also Watauinĕ́wa-aizăku, "the very ancient one and the one of boundless strength." In BD:10 one finds aizŏka, "immense, huge, very large" /cited in English/ . Tánuwa has the same meaning, according to BD:421, "(My) father, my old man (fam.)" /cited in English/, which is something like /in German/ "mein lieber, guter Alter."

The Yamana no less frequently use Hidắbuan or Hitapŭ́an [81] as "my father" and Hắu ímun, "my father" or, by shifting the possessive prefix hi, also haianắnin ímun, "our father." Occasionally Hắua ŭ́ŭu, "my grandfather" and Kalaié́xĕn, "dear little old father," are also used.

The following names are also to be interpreted in such a way that their unique meaning, applied to the deity, is raised to the highest degree of intensity. Abailákin, "the strong, the mighty." BD:14 gives abắila, "strong, physically strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The combination hắim hŭ́lu Abailákin stands for a particularly great intensification. The first two words can also be repeated, which gives the greatest possible emphasis. This construction, however, is used exclusively for Watauinĕ́wa. According to BD:261 hắim means "in a great degree, very exceedingly" /cited in English/. The Yamana also use the construction Abắila-Watauinĕ́wa and Abắila-sĕ́f.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

Kinship

The Yahgan kinship terms, like the Ona, were compounded with the possessive adjectives "my," "your," "his," or "her" (*háwa, sína, hichín*). These whole expressions may or may not be contracted. Additional complications were introduced by the fact that different terms in some cases were used when speaking of a person nearby or far away, and again when two people or several people took part in the conversation.

The kinship terms listed below were obtained in part from Mr. Fred. Lawrence and in part from Yahgan at Puerto Mejillones, and have been checked by Mr. William Bridges. It is difficult to gather these words, because much time has passed since many of them were used.[1] We have given many terms only in the first person when the second and third persons are regularly formed.

Table V.—Yahgan Relationship Terms

Father

my father	*háwahímun, háwimun*
your father	*sínahímun, sínimun*
his (her) father (when nearby)	*hichinhímun, hichímun*
his (her) father (when afar)	*húnchiminhímun*

Mother

my mother (when two speak)	*háwaddle*
my mother (when several speak)	*hídahí'yun*
your mother	*sínaddle*
his (her) mother (when nearby)	*hichinddle*
his (her) mother (when afar)	*hídahí'un*

Brother

my elder brother	*háwawaíawun*
your elder brother (when nearby)	*sínawaíawun*
your elder brother (when afar)	*wuímhahí*
his elder brother	*hichiwwaíawun*
my middle (of 3) brother	*háwayínatípawaíma*
your middle (of 3) brother	*sínayínatípawaíma*
his middle (of 3) brother	*hichinyínatípawaíma*
my younger brother	*háwaashwud, háwaashwuálki*
your younger brother	*sínaashwud, sínaashwuálki*
his younger brother	*hichinashwud, hichinashwuálki*
my brother next to my eldest	*háwawaímahichigaíahigaíahi*
my brother next to my youngest	*háwaashwaíahichigaíahi háwaishpaki*
my brother next to my second	*háwayínatawaímahichigaíahigaíahi*

[1] Both Fitzroy and Darwin comment on the extraordinary rapidity with which the Yahgan and Alacaluf taken to England in the *Beagle* forgot how to speak their native tongues.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

	Sister
681 my sister	*Adwumukhkhipea*
my elder sister	*Adwumukhipea*
my younger sister	*Adwudukhipea*
my sister next to the eldest	*Adwuwutikipdachipelekipedakh*
my sister next to the youngest	*Adwuyhumupwutikipea*
	Uncle
my father's elder brother	*Adwukhimdechiwuiowua*
my father's younger brother	*Adwukhimdechiwuwud*
my mother's elder brother	*Adwudakhrlechiwuiowua*
my mother's younger brother	*Adwudakhrlechiwuwud*
my paternal uncle	*Adwul'wua*
	Aunt
my mother's elder sister	*Adwudakhechiwuikhipea*
my mother's younger sister	*Adwudakhechikhikhipea*
my maternal aunt	*Adwuyhuddhr*
my paternal aunt	*Adwuiwuapea*
	Grandfather
my mother's father	*Adwukuldea*
	Wife
my wife	*Adwukuloiea*
	Son
my son	*Adwumdhua*
	Daughter
my daughter	*Adwumukipea*
	Grandson
my grandson	*Adwumdgutea*
	Cousin
my father's sister's son	*Adwumdkwa*
my father's sister's daughter	*Adwukipumdkwa*
my brothers and cousins (in general)	*Adwumdkuyirmulia*
my sisters and cousins (in general)	*Adwumdkukipuyirmulia*
	Family
my family	*Adwumumukwiumulia*

Marriage

681 The Yahgan addressed cousins of the first and second degree as "brother" or "sister," and were not allowed to marry within that range of consanguinity. A man spoke of his female relatives with whom marriage was forbidden as *Adwumdkukipuyirmulia;* a woman's prohibited relatives she named collectively *Adwumdkuyirmulia*. The restriction was absolute.